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MAY, 1960

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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May, 1960

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NAACP national office-staff pickets in front of the S. H. Kress variety store Fifth Avenue, March 30. — Olympic Press Photo

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■ "If anything was inevitable, it was this strife over the lunch stools"

Doughnuts and Democracy*

By Marion A. Wright

IT has often happened that those who lived through great events were unaware of their historical significance. Another generation with increased perspective begins to grasp their importance and, ultimately, to realize that they were milestones in human progress. What was merely an exciting episode to a participant may, upon later examination, turn out to have been one of the pivots upon which history turns.

A dozen or so citizens of Massachusetts clamber at night upon a ship at anchor in Boston harbor and throw some bags of tea overboard. As they slipped furtively back to their homes, probably not a man of them ever dreamed that his descendants would some day boast that Grandpa had taken part in the Boston Tea Party, or that his action had sparked the creation of a new nation. The determination of Bostonians to drink tea without paying a tax to the British crown, a few minutes of daring action—and History begins a fresh chapter.

Now behold a parallel. On February 1, 1960, a few college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, enter, not a ship at anchor, but Woolworth's 5-and-10-Cent Store. They do not throw tea out on the street; they order coffee to be drunk sitting down. (Instead of standing up for their rights, they sit down for them; in other words, they were sitting on their Constitutional rights.) They were refused service. You know the result. The movement has spread electrically throughout the entire South, forcing every community to re-examine its segregation practices.

ISSUES ARE JOINED

The demand confounds the segregationist. While it is at best specious

*A speech delivered by MARION A. WRIGHT, vice-president of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., at Detroit, Michigan, at a meeting sponsored by the NAACP on March 18, 1960. Mr. Wright is a native of Lincille Falls, North Carolina.

reasoning, up until now he has indulged the fiction that the Negro Southerners were quite happy with their lot until misled by the NAACP, which capitalized upon ignorance. Here, however, we have a spontaneous movement among the most intelligent—college students, no less—erupting throughout the entire South.

And the confusion of the segregationist is further compounded by a fact of utmost importance. White college students of the South, in more than isolated instances, have stood loyally by the side of the protesting Negroes. The hecklers—who were they? Let the *Richmond News-Leader* answer:

> Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are in reading of Saturday's sitdowns by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. *Eheu!* It gives one pause.

So, then, the issue is fairly and finally joined in the only way it should be joined. It is not Negro versus white. It is intelligence and decency of white and Negro versus ignorance and depravity.

The Negroes, during the past half dozen years, have given to the nation a host of brave and noble spirits who have endured martyrdom for a cause—Martin Luther King, Mrs. Daisy Bates, and a long star-studded scroll of the anonymous valiant. How often have I had occasion to praise them! Permit me now, as a white man, a brief moment of exaltation that members of the race to which I happen to belong—students of Wake Forest College, Duke University and a score of other institutions—have conquered the tyranny of time and place to march with you, resolute and unafraid.

Don't forget, my friends, those students can sit and eat wherever they please. Can there be greater purity of motive than that which prompts courageous action to secure rights for another. All hail to them!

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea—I am a Bourbon and branch-water man myself—but I suggest that in History's long view the Greensboro Coffee Party may loom as large as the Boston Tea Party. Lipton and Maxwell House may fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any "payola."

If anything was inevitable, it was this strife over the lunch stools.

One thing to which the South has not yet fully adjusted is the Negro's increased purchasing power. So long as that power was insignificant, he could expect, and was reasonably content with second-class service. In all fairness, this discrimination was not entirely a matter of race. For example, I am sure that if Mr. Rockefeller and I, or, to keep politics out of it, Mr. Harriman and I, walked into Tiffany's at the same time, the clerks would knock themselves out waiting on either of them while I twiddled my thumbs. I would

regard that as annoying but normal. But with my first hundred million, I would begin to pound on the counter and demand equal service.

HUMILIATION MUST GO

The Negro has now reached that stage. His money is as good as anybody else's. When he may trade freely at all of the store's counters except the lunch counter, the calculated humiliation of him becomes obvious. It will no longer be endured.

But, transcending the economic reason, is a deeper motive. It involves the dissipation of the myth of white superiority. The older white and the older Negro had been reared on that myth. The white believed it firmly; the Negro if only subconsciously, was at least half persuaded.

But in the last two or three decades the last shred and vestige of the myth have dissolved, leaving "not a rack behind." Jackie Robinson, Marian Anderson, Dr. Ralph Bunche and a galaxy of able and talented men and women have demonstrated conclusively that, in fair competition, the Negro stride for stride will match his white rival. No one now above the mental level of Senator Eastland ever even mentions white superiority. To tell the truth, if Secretary Benson will pardon the expression, there are times when I am disposed to settle for 90 per cent of parity.

The young people — particularly the college crowd—know this. They are not blind. It is "agin nature" to

SOME *of the Negro college girls arrested in Atlanta, Georgia, in the city-wide wave of restaurant sitdown demonstrations sit in the female detention room of the Atlanta city jail, many of them studying their school books.*

UPI Telephoto

UPI Photo

PICKETS *protest in front of an F. W. Woolworth store in Atlantic City, N. J., against the chain's policy of permitting southern branch stores to operate segregated lunch counters.*

ask them to act as if they didn't know, as if they couldn't see. Knowing and seeing, they demand that they be treated as any other American citizen.

DEPRAVED INTELLIGENCE

But, as is usually the case, action which has its principal justification upon high moral grounds is consistent with intelligent self-interest. We are concerned that the Negro shall have the right to occupy a lunch stool. We are more concerned that the South shall get down off the dunce stool.

What an image we must present to the world! Conspiritorial and furtive planning how to thwart judicial decrees, massive resistance, gerrymandering, pupil placement acts, token de-segregation, exclusion from the ballot, filibustering—all of these were and are bad enough. But they have about them a certain low cunning which bespeaks a kind of depraved intelligence. One might admire them as he would admire the artistry of the jackal or the crocodile.

But this lunchroom thing lacks even that dubious distinction. Here are men in the year 1960 arrayed to defend a primitive taboo which might have flourished on a South Sea island 5,000 years ago. The whole majesty and might of states massed to see that certain people stand while they eat their peanut butter sandwiches! Where the rest of the world is not grieved by the tragedy, or amused by the folly, or

shocked by the brutality, of state action, it must be appalled at its unfathomable stupidity.

Stupid, because this whole *cause célèbre,* this fantastic and incredible episode, could end in five minutes if white Southerners would utter a phrase which they learned in childhood and have repeated ever since—"Sit down. Have a cup of coffee."

In other words, leaving law and morals aside, the situation would yield to ordinary good manners. And it is manners upon which the Southerner has always prided himself. Our politicians have led us into strange paths. They have, in our name, departed from established law, struck questionable compromises with principle. Manners are about all we have left. We shall be naked indeed if we surrender them.

UNFAIR TO OUR POLITICIANS

But perhaps we have been unfair to our politicians. I have thought of them as having no concern about civil rights. I was wrong. There is one civil right they seem determined to protect. It is the right of a lunch counter operator to require a Negro customer to stand while eating. I risk no legal opinion as to the existence of such right. But guessing as to the future is a game all may play. So I give you my reading of the stars: This court, or a succeeding court, will hold that one who has a charter or franchise or license from a state to engage in business operates that business pursuant to exercise of state power, and that state power may not be used by a grantee to discriminate against customers because of race or religion.

There are certain inherent rights one enjoys merely as a human being. They grow in number as men's minds expand. They are not all found in certain amendments to a Constitution. Among them is the right not to be publicly humiliated on account of race by a policy of a business which exists under the aegis of a state.

The Greensboro Coffee Party may well establish that principle as a part of our organic law.

It is doing much more than that. It is presenting the South with alternatives between which it must choose. There is no escape from definite and clear-cut decisions. Let us approach one of them a little bit obliquely.

The segregationists protest loudly against the Negroes' use of the boycott. In Montgomery, for example, scores were arrested for boycotting the buses. That in spite of the fact that its use against Negroes is blatantly advocated in the profane literature of the White Citizens Councils and that Negroes all over the South have felt the keen edge of that economic weapon. Let's not put it in such abstract terms. Thousands of Negro fathers, mothers, and children have been driven from humble farm homes; thousands of small Negro merchants have been forced out of business, and thousands of Negro teachers and preachers thrown from their classrooms and pulpits—all for no other offense than that they acted as American citizens. But things have come to a pretty pass, the segregationist says, when the Negroes boycott a dime store.

UPI Photo

PLACARD-CARRYING DEMONSTRATORS *sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" on the steps of City Hall, Atlantic City, N. J. Members of the Atlantic City NAACP branch and a local group called the Northside Union League staged the demonstration in protest against segregative practices in southern states.*

SUPREMACISTS BOYCOTT REGION

How do they react? Virginia, birthplace of Thomas Jefferson, mother of presidents, and other southern states rush through the legislature bills redefining trespass. Police are re-enforced, the National Guard alerted, stern warnings issued —all to uphold the alleged civil right of a restaurant owner to require Negroes to stand while eating. Such the re-action against the Negro boycott.

But the white supremacists, without being aware of it, by the very nature of their acts, are themselves perpetrating a boycott of an entire region. By insistence upon preserving a caste system—engrafting a part of the dead Eighteenth Century upon the living body of the Twentieth—they insulate the South against the intelligence and the superior moral force of the rest of the nation. Cultural and scientific groups, professional societies, religious organizations, refuse to hold their conventions in the South because they refuse to humiliate their Negro mem-

bers. That is one phase of this self-imposed boycott.

There are others. Able Southern professors and ministers of the gospel —white men and women—have been expelled, sent into exile beyond the region, because they spoke out for truth and decency. Still others, suffocated by the local atmosphere, voluntarily leave for realms where they may live as free men.

Such, then is the colossal intellectual boycott of a third of the land mass of this nation. Such the choice with which the segregationist is confronted. He may let people sit on lunch stools or he may make the South a Sahara of the mind and spirit.

I must interpolate that silver linings appear on the clouds. Perhaps for the first time, the Negro has widespread support from the South's intellectuals. I have referred to the white college students. The ferment has spread as well to faculties, who are becoming vocal. And ministers of all denominations now speak out against the prevailing infamy. Never in history has sheer brutality been a match for the still, small voice. It will not be now.

Do you here in Detroit have any stake in what is now transpiring in the South? I understand that your constitution and statutes require complete absence of racial discrimination. But may you for that reason wash your hands of us?

WORLD CLOSELY KNIT

We live in a closely knit world—a fact of which the segregationist seems unaware. He talks eternally about something he calls states' rights, as though behind a river, or some line drawn on a map, citizens are free to conduct themselves as they please, without a "decent regard to the opinion of mankind." Someone should take him in hand, lead him out back of the barn and tell him the facts of life. Among those facts is that this is one nation, indivisible.

Nothing may now be done anywhere in this nation without everywhere producing consequences and repercussions. Ideas spawned in South Carolina or Mississippi today may find lodgement in skulls in New York or Michigan tomorrow. The tools of science are sometimes invented before men have the spiritual qualification to use them wisely. Thus ideas may leap across continents and oceans before their authors may mentally leap across their backyard fences. The anthropoid utterances of Senator Eastland and Senator Thurmond may stir the primitive in men, not merely in Mississippi and South Carolina, but in Detroit and Chicago as well.

So, don't for one moment entertain the delusion that the Mason and Dixon line is a rampart behind which you are secure. Your own destiny is involved with the fate of the Southern liberal.

But, surely, it is a narrow and selfish view which prompts one merely to take steps for his own protection. That is negative virtue. A person of robust goodness wants to throw his weight around, to influence favorably the course of events beyond his own community limits. So, what may be done by the private citizen of Detroit?

As I pointed out a moment ago, I understand in this state there is no

discrimination based upon law. Now, I have complete confidence in the validity of the distinction between discrimination legally enforced and discrimination voluntarily practiced. But, I think I should be evasive if I did not point out that voluntary discrimination in any section of this nation, Michigan, for example, strengthens legally enforced discrimination in the South. Discrimination, even if not legally sanctioned in one state, encourages the application of such sanctions elsewhere. This fact places upon the non-southern private citizen the solemn duty of taking care that his individual and voluntary acts and attitudes are above reproach.

I carefully skirt the clichés about the power of the private citizen of which we are constantly reminded. But we may profitably consider for a moment the expanding significance of private action.

"PUBLIC INTEREST"

There is a legal phrase to the effect that a certain business or enterprise is "affected with a public interest." The classic illustration would be a utility company holding a franchise to furnish electricity or transportation. It is a rapidly enlarging conception, even in corporate circles. But, under conditions of the modern world, may we any longer limit the connotations of the term to corporate action of a commercial nature upon a large scale? Dr. Ralph Bunche was recently denied membership in a tennis club because he is a Negro. It was a private club acting within its legal rights, but that action has repercussions around the world. In a hundred different translations it was blazoned before people of color whose friendship this nation needs desperately to win. The simple blackballing of an applicant for club membership was profoundly affected with a public interest.

So, every college fraternity, the American Legion, the Forty-and-Eight, the churches—every organization which makes color or race a qualification for membership—affects the safety and destiny of this republic. In Charlotte, North Carolina, a year or so ago, a photographer snapped a picture of some people surrounding a poised and serene Negro girl on her way to a white school. There was a snarl on the faces of the menacing group. That picture, in addition to publication in this country, won an award in international competition at Amsterdam, Holland. It travelled around the world. The mere facial expressions of a handful of people were affected with a public interest.

So, without elaboration, whoever hires and promotes an employee; whoever builds, leases and sells homes; whoever receives guests at a hotel; whoever sells tickets to shows; whoever deals with his fellow human beings—all with a vision which takes no note of color—such a one in only the narrowest sense engages in private action. In the widest and truest sense he contributes to national grandeur. Vastly more important, he strengthens the bonds which unite all human creatures into the family of man.

CITIZENS FREE TO ACT

While it must at times seem to all of us that government is forever regulating our conduct, actually only a small percentage of our acts are

regimented. Beyond the pale of law, beyond the reach of government, lies a vast domain of conduct, a kind of moral penumbra, where the citizen is free to act as he pleases. Here no legal restraints or imperatives, no penalties or sanctions. Here passions and prejudices may be freely indulged, likes and dislikes freely expressed, without other than self-imposed limitation. Here the sovereign authority is not law, but conscience.

But let it not be supposed for one moment that, because the public, through government, does not invade this uncharted area, it is not concerned or involved with what there transpires. On the contrary, from this uninhibited welter of conduct are fashioned customs, institutions, a way of life, and, ultimately, even government itself.

The business of government, we say, is civil rights; that is, the preservation of privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution. Outside of that field, as broad as it may be, lies a vaster domain. It is the field of the civilities. Here the citizen is on his own. Here his conceptions of right and decency and honor find full expression. Here such religion as he may have may come to full flower. It is one thing to grant grudging obedience to law; it is another and more important to do what is right, not because of law's command, but because of promptings which spring from the heart.

No one, of course, may legitimately disparage the profound importance of judicial opinions. But they come from men aloof and scholarly who are no cross section of American thinking. The opinions which will have impact upon mankind are fashioned by average men and women. They reflect the thinking, the principles, the attitudes of the anonymous citizen.

So, what does this mean to the anonymous private citizen of Detroit? Simply this: If you have a deep concern with the injustice and pain resulting from legalized segregation; if you are sickened by the violence, and shocked by the duplicity, which have attended efforts to preserve it; if you consider it a scourge and a pestilence upon a fair land—then examine the secret places of your own heart. Legalized segregation would not long survive in the South if, elsewhere in the nation, all men, in their attitudes toward their fellows, rose above consciousness of race. The very means of communication which bring you the words of Eastland and Thurmond would carry in exchange the soft persuasion of your own deeds and words and thoughts. To such persuasion no state would long be adamant.

NATURE OF COMMUNITY PRESSURE

In any community in a single day there are thousands or millions of private acts. There are millions of thoughts, ideas, emotions, expressions, gestures, postures, assertions, laughs, nods, frowns — all of the things which individuals do, consciously or unconsciously, to give outward expression to their inner selves, to indicate their reactions to events and their attitudes toward other individuals. The composite, the resultant, the synthesis, of these myriad and fleeting revelations of attitude is an awesome and potent

force. It is the force of community pressure.

The destiny of the community is involved with that force. As an instrument of community development, the NAACP is involved with it. The attitude of the community may drive talent and skills and genius out, or it may retain and attract men and women of such qualifications.

If the community attitude is hostile to the new and novel; if it places limitations upon advancement; if it assigns fixed status to men and women, drawing lines beyond which one proceeds at his peril; if it exalts a way of life merely because it is venerable — if the community attitude does those things, men and women of spirit, initiative and enterprise will elsewhere seek a more congenial climate. The constrictive force of the community, like pressure which forces cream from a tube, will expel the superior and elite.

That same constrictive force will warp and twist those who remain. Community pressure is a Procrustean bed which fits to its own dimensions those who yield themselves to its clutches. But, so insidious is its operation, its victims do not comprehend the extent to which they have been shaped and molded.

But if the community attitude encourages every creative activity, however novel; if it slams shut no door to human aspiration—men and women of genius will remain and others will come to join their gallant company.

Nor dare we believe that they who leave go only for better pay. Admittedly, many move in response to that lure. But your really superior man, your man of genius, who doesn't keep pace with his companions here, in Thoreau' phrase, moves "because he hears a different drummer." He wants to breathe an ampler air, have his being in a freer society. He will "step to the music he hears, however measured or far away."

For a state to have against it a balance of trade in commercial products and commodities is bad enough. To have against it a balance of trade in ideas is profoundly tragic.

No one knows or cares what products moved by boat or camel back from Athens or Judea or Alexandria. What matters is to us in 1960 that so many tons of olives, or so many hogsheads of wine, or so many bushels of rice, were loosed in the channels of trade 2,500 years ago? What *does* matter profoundly is that in Athens and Judea and Alexandria the foundations of science were laid and there were evolved ideas and principles of conduct and ethics, which, if they do not wholly govern us, at least have daily impact upon our lives. They evolved in a society in which every man was prodded to think, to express himself, to achieve up to the full limit of his powers.

So, in some dim and distant future, men will little note nor long remember what agricultural or commercial products flowed from Detroit in the 1960's. But the attention of men could be riveted to this city, and they could be exalted in spirit, if there were here produced ideas and principles of use and service to mankind.

A secure place in history, a kind of urban immortality, is reserved for those cities which show complete devotion to the highest principles of civic virtue.

The Cry for Freedom

By Thurgood Marshall

WHILE the cry is against apartheid in South Africa, is for one man, one vote in Kenya, is for the right to register and vote in Mississippi and Alabama, the right to non-discriminatory service in stores throughout the South, the right to non-segregated education in the South or the ending of subtle segregation in the North, the cry for freedom is increasing in tempo throughout the world. Thus, the sit-in strikes of young people throughout the South is the latest evidence of this wave. We believe that those of us in the NAACP and other organizations who have fought so long in this fight must continue the type of leadership that brings about the lawful and orderly step by step march toward freedom from racial discrimination wherever it exists.

One writer, in commenting upon the situation in sit-in strikes says: "It seems rather riduculous when you can buy a nice hat for eight or ten dollars in the store and yet you can't satisfy, without discrimination, the very fundamental need of your own hunger with a cup of coffee and a sandwich."

Thus young people, in the true tradition of our democratic principles, are fighting the matter for all of us and they are doing it in a most effective way. Protest—the right of protest—is basic to a democratic form of government. The right of petition; the right of assembly; the right of freedom of speech are so basic to our government that they are enshrined in the very first amendment to the Constitution. And the 14th Amendment says that no state shall throttle these freedoms.

These young people are just simply sick and tired of waiting patiently without protest for the rights they know to be theirs. Consequently,

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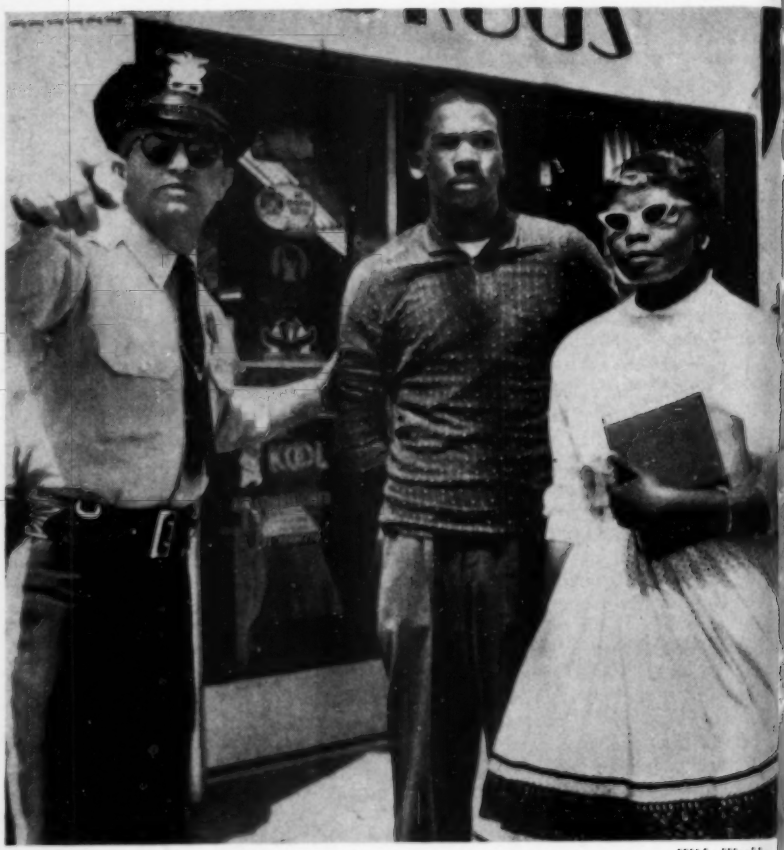
Excerpts from a talk by Thurgood Marshall director-counsel NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., at an NAACP mass meeting held in Charlotte, North Carolina, on March 20, 1960.



Wide World

THESE *two unidentified students were arrested as they tried to get service at the Fry-Hodge Drug counter in Marshall, Texas. The patrolman on the left is summoning a squad car to carry the couple away. There were several arrests that day as students entered lunch counters around Marshall.*

they settled upon the right of peaceful protests—and what is wrong with that?

As a result of these peaceful protests, the whole force of state government has been arrayed behind the private store owner to prevent peaceful protests. The students have been arrested on every possible type of criminal charge.

In some areas they are charged with trespassing because they refuse to leave the establishment; because they came on the property when told not to do so, or are charged with having threatened some one. Secondly, many of them have been charged with violation of fire department regulations such as blocking of aisles of a store despite the fact that no one has ever been charged with the same crime before;

Thirdly, some are charged with assault for refusing to move or allegedly brushing against someone;

Fourth, some are charged with failure to obtain licenses for public meetings or parades; and

Fifth, authorities have dragged out the old disorderly conduct procedure.

There will be many others thought up by lawyers well-paid and well trained in the law. And here we have once again the example of the full strength of a state government, paid for by white and black taxes, arrayed against young people solely because of their race and color.

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, 450 students were arrested walking down the street before they had even started to picket or to parade and everyone is to be tried in blocs of fifteen per day. This is obviously done in the hope of wearing our legal staff and our pocketbook down. We have news for them. We are prepared to stay in court after court, in city after city and in state after state as long as they can stay there.

On Thursday, March 17, in Little Rock, Arkansas, fifteen students peacefully protesting were seized and fined $250, and sentenced to thirty days in jail.

Each of these instances can be cited in state after state wherever the protests have been made. To all of this, we have but one reply, even one word and the word is SHAME.

Whenever you read about it—

Whenever you hear about it—

Whenever you hear it discussed—

say SHAME — SHAME on those who under the guise of states' rights or state law seek to throttle young people lawfully protesting.

Say SHAME on the white people of the South, the good white people, the so-called moderates who sit idly by and allow young people to be persecuted solely because of their race or color. And when you hear a Negro who has been adequately brainwashed say that this is too much to do just to get a hamburger or a frankfurter, to him say SHAME. For this that the young people are doing is for the best interest of all of us and indeed for the country itself.

We have just completed a lawyers conference in Washington attended by lawyers handling the sit-in cases from Delaware to the Gulf of Mexico. We have compared notes. We have shared our legal thoughts, our legal briefs and legal procedures. We are as a unit. We are going to work in the most cooperative fashion. We are going to give to these young peo-

ple the best legal defense available to them. Negroes and other Americans who believe in freedom will provide the bail money for them. Once again we are called upon to use our private resources, our private strength, and our private abilities to save the good name of this country.

UPI Photo

STUDENTS *who attempted a lunch-counter "sit-in" in downtown Atlanta, Georgia, on March 15. A city policeman is shown taking down the names of the students engaged in the attempted "sit-in."*

Pilgrim Baptist church of St. Paul, Minn., is the first fully-paid church life member in the St. Paul branch. Dr. Floyd Massey, Jr., pastor, makes final payment to Mrs. Lillian Balenger, branch life membership chairman, and Mrs. Adele Few branch president.

■ Negro expression of feeling on integration in the South

Echoes of Freedom

By R. G. Toatley

NEGROES from all sections of York County came to the mass meeting held in the New Mt. Olivet AMEZ Church and served notice of their support of the student protests against segregation in our society. From the approximately one thousand or more people present, rang the jubilant but positive echoes of their desire to be first class citizens.

The Rev. C. A. Ivory, chairman of the Human Rights Committee and master of ceremonies, following the Invocation by Rev. J. D. Rucker, offered the three recommendations listed below.

To continue, when and if it becomes necessary, support of Friendship Junior College "sitdown" lunch counter demonstrations at Woolworth's and McCory's chain stores in Rock Hill with pickets, or by not patronizing the stores to bring economic pressure upon the management.

To write letters of protest to the management of the concerns.

To support all organizations backing integration. Most specifically, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Movement, and the Local Committee for Promotion of Human Rights.

An overwhelming approval was given these recommendations.

The chairman also admonished: "That the demonstrations be marked by dignity and non-violence; that Negroes stick 'to the very end' to this movement for right and justice; that the number of demonstrators be small and orderly."

Here are echoes from some of the persons present at the February 29 meeting:

Abe Plummer, president of Friendship's Friendly Youth Civic Committee, was accorded a resound-

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R. G. TOATLEY, a minister, is a native of Rock Hill, South Carolina, and active in the fight for integration in the South.

ing ovation when he was introduced. He said, "The demonstrations are for the purpose of securing equal rights for all through passive resistance.

Discrimination in itself is wrong. It makes us feel inferior, and it makes the white man feel superior.

"The southern white man goes out to tell others how satisfied we are, but our presence here tonight says that we are not satisfied! There is much unrest among us!

"We realized at the beginning of our demonstrations that we must suffer. We are willing to make this sacrifice, and we are asking that you, too, sacrifice along with us.

"With the will to succeed, our purposes can be achieved."

Charles Ramseur, electrician's helper and graduate of Hampton Institute, said: "They say that we are going too fast. There is no such thing as too fast in such an important matter. Let us stop thinking Negro and start thinking American."

The Rev. W. P. Diggs stated: "This is a continuation of a world movement. Suppressed peoples everywhere are tired of being suppressed and trod upon. This is a contagion. It's caught fire all over the world. Every one loves freedom and now is the time for us to stand up and be counted."

Miss Lois Grise, maid: "We help in the preparation of their food. Our hands go in the dough but we can not eat beside them."

Dr. Hugh A. Hogans, physician, said: "Khrushchev, our biggest enemy, can eat up there, but I can't."

The Rev. W. B. Knox: "I have always been in favor of this type of action. I trust that it ends in the spirit in which it was begun. A genuine Christian can not endorse segregation. Every person craves freedom but some are afraid to speak out."

Miss Helen McClure, senior at Emmett Scott High School: "We feel that the college students made a great step forward. This step should have been made a long time ago. We are behind you one hundred percent."

Ned Barber, mill worker: "I have observed the practices of segregation at the mill. When I was injured at the mill and they would not take my family physician's word, a white doctor had to confirm the medical report."

From a person we were unable to identify: "If a person is a Christian from the heart he must accept all people as brothers."

The Rev. E. P. Boyce, retired minister: "I offer as a solution to this world problem, united prayer by all people unto Almighty God."

The Rev. R. G. Toatley presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolution concerning the action of the Friendly Student Civic Committee of Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, S. C.

Whereas, the students of Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, South Carolina, who on their own initiative, did register their disapproval of and dissatisfaction with the practices of segregation in our City, State, Nation and the World, and

Whereas, they avow their purpose to continue in an orderly manner, void of violence created by harrassment, intimidation, or any other attempts to retaliate, except by litigation, now therefore

Be it resolved, That we who are assembled at this initial meeting, after

the most impressive sitdown demonstrations witnessed by those of our city, that we go on record as endorsing their protests, and to this end we pray God's guidance and lend our wholehearted support, and

Be it further resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and that copies of the same be sent the Student Body, Trustee Board, Friendly Student Civic Committee, and the press.

The choirs of Clinton and Friendship Junior Colleges, Rock Hill, S. C., rendered selections which greatly enhanced and inspired us all.

T. E. Murdock, chairman of the local chapter of CORE, urged all interested Negroes to write the presidents of the chain stores involved and let them know that we are dissatisfied with the practices of segregation carried on in their stores. He further stated: "White southerners visiting the North are saying that we are satisfied with the status quo and that the demonstrations are brought on by outside agitators. We did not ask them to speak for us—we are intelligent enough to speak for ourselves."

As the writer of this article attempts to interpret and summarize the "echoes of freedom," as they ring out from Negroes in the Southland, he can hear them saying in unmistakable terms: Give me freedom or give me the jail! Messers. Eastland, Russell, Patterson, and the others who have made a feeble attempt to plead our case before the world, you have not told the truth when you say that the Negroes are satisfied with racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation.

Oh America! If we are to take an honorable place of leadership in the World, where most of the peoples have dark faces, then we must remember that charity begins at home.

Our stakes are set on the fulfilment of the "American creed," which emphasizes the essential dignity of the human personality, the fundamental equality of man, and the inalienable right to freedom, justice, and equal opportunities.

FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION

Branches are urged to begin their preparations now to send delegates and to participate in the 51st Annual NAACP Convention.

THE TIME: JUNE 21-26, 1960

PLACE: ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

PLEASE REMEMBER THE TIME AND THE PLACE

SIT-IN PROTEST CAUCUS—*Southern student "sit-in" protest leaders confer with NAACP executives in New York City. From L, they are Lacey Streeter, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.; Betty Johnson, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; and Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary. Mr. Streeter is president of his NAACP college chapter; Miss Johnson was one of 34 students arrested in Richmond for protest activities. Mr. Wilkins promised students the full support of the NAACP.*

A Case Against Jim Crow Eating*

By *Jack Greenberg*

Across the South young Negroes, in a new phase of their increasingly successful fight for equality, have been staging "sit-in" strikes at lunch counters where their color is a bar to service. Here Jack Greenberg, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., attorney, "changes sides" to analyze the legal and economic implications of this passive resistance effort from the viewpoint of a major national chain store. Greenberg is co-author of *Citizen's Guide to Desegregation* and the author of *Race Relations and American Law*.

IF I WERE Woolworth's lawyer I would send the following memorandum to management:

This memorandum treats the company's legal position in connection with the "sit-ins," pickets and boycotts being conducted against our stores and others in southern states and elsewhere. Although it discusses the law, I would be remiss if I neglected fully to explore the economic and public relations aspects of the problem—all three factors are intertwined. I shall say nothing directly about morality, not because I am without views, but because I am certain that management has its own ideas on the question.

These protests are being conducted against a number of national chain stores in Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, Elizabeth City, Concord and High Point, North Carolina; Norfolk, Hampton and Portsmouth, Virginia; Rock Hill, South Carolina; Tallahassee and Deland, Florida; Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere. By the time you receive this memorandum they will undoubtedly have spread further, especially in large cities.

Supporting demonstrations have been reported in New York City, New Haven and other northern

*Reprinted by permission from the March 14, 1960, issue of *The New Leader*, New York City.

UPI Telephoto

THURGOOD MARSHALL, *director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., told a press conference in Washington, D.C., that attorneys have agreed to defend everyone of the more than 1,000 students arrested in lunch-counter demonstrations. At the press conference with Mr. Marshall (L) were James A. Nabrit, Jr. (C), dean of the Howard University Law School, and Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.*

centers. The movements originated spontaneously but now, in large part, have the support and direction of national organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). By and large, the active participants have been Negro college students but in some places white students have allied themselves with them and many adults, usually colored, but often white, have also expressed approval.

Some of the places where we have had trouble are covered by state or municipal segregation laws. Virginia has such a law. While North Carolina has no state law on the subject, Durham requires that eating places be segregated. These laws can do us no good. We may expect that some sympathetic police court judges will uphold arrests for breaching the

segregation statutes, but most will not because such laws are undoubtedly unconstitutional. Moreover, any convictions that are obtained will surely be reversed on appeal.

Our next line of defense is the trespass statutes. In fact, in such places as Raleigh and Winston-Salem, trespass prosecutions have been commenced against Negro and white students who have occupied counter stools or come on company property or into a shopping center, where stores like ours are located, and refused to leave when ordered. While we may obtain some trespass convictions, I would hesitate to assure you that the trespass laws can stop this movement.

First of all, we merely put students in jail after they have demonstrated. I know of no effective way of preventing demonstrations in the first place by the use of trespass. Given suficient determination and numbers the students may choose to demonstrate and go to jail. We must be careful not to create an atmosphere in which a fine or jail term for trespass of this sort becomes a badge which a student may wear with pride. Criminal law, if used in this way, loses its deterrent force. I believe there is danger that this may happen.

Second, trespass may be used only in certain situations. Clearly, we cannot keep Negroes out of stores altogether; they are too large a portion of our trade. If, therefore, they have been invited in and transgress limits we set for them, we must ask them to leave. If they leave when requested, they have committed no traspass. There is nothing to stop large numbers of Negroes from taking places in or near our counter seats until they are asked to leave. If, at this point, they do leave and are replaced by others, they have achieved their purpose and violated no law.

Furthermore, there is a real question in my mind as to whether, in the last analysis, trespass prosecutions to sustain a policy of racial segregation will stand up, constitutionally speaking. The Supreme Court, in the *Civil Rights Cases,* held that the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply to private action. But we are having our private action enforced by the Government. In the *Restrictive Covenant Cases* the Supreme Court wrote that private covenants to bar Negroes from purchasing real property were valid, but could not be enforced by the courts. It may hold that our segregation regulations, while legal, also may not be enforced by the courts. I am reminded of an article of A. A. Berle's on the obligations of corporate house counsel in a situation like the one we face:

"I do not know of any statute which forbids a great oil company from announcing as a policy that gasoline shall not be sold to Negroes at the gas stations it controls—though the control is more often by contract than by direct ownership. Yet I surmise that any sane house counsel would tell any board of directors ill-advised enough to attempt such a policy that they could not make it go down. If, at long last, the Supreme Court did not apply the rule of Shelley v. Kraemer [the *Restrictive Covenant Cases*], then it would some other rule."

Our situation is close enough to the one Berle describes to be called to your notice. His observations re-

flect those of Justice Benjamin Cardozo, who wrote that while morality and law surely do not always coincide, current views of morality strongly influence the law. This applies particularly to constitutional law. I think there is little doubt about present-day moral trends insofar as race relations are concerned.

But should trespass finally be upheld as a weapon against some classes of sit-ins, we can hardly use it against those who picket outside. Peaceful picketing for a lawful purpose is an exercise of constitutionally secured rights of free speech and assembly. If the students are peaceful, as most of them seem to be, we would have to persuade state courts that the goal of non-segregated seating is illegal. This the United States Supreme Court would never accept.

The Supreme Court has held that picketing for the purpose of securing racially proportionate representation in employment constitutionally could be found illegal by California courts. The reasoning was that insisting upon proportionate representation discriminates against the man not hired because he is of the wrong race. But the clear implication of the decision was that picketing for *nondiscriminatory* hiring would be constitutionally privileged. I am sure that an attack on the lawfulness of the picketers' goal holds no promise for us. In Southern areas some of the cases might have to go to the Supreme Court. In the North we would lose in lower courts probably without exception.

We face also the defense of constitutionally protected religious liberty. Some pastors, white and colored, have already urged their congregations not to trade in our stores. The Reverend Martin Luther King and Congressman (also the Reverend) Adam Clayton Powell have large and faithful congregations. I think that they are constitutionally privileged to advise those who look to them for religious counsel on social questions like these. In any event, it would not be a wise public relations move to undertake suits against ministers.

It might be that in some of the large shopping centers where we recently have been building or leasing stores we can keep pickets from our door because we are surrounded by a wide belt of privately owned shopping-center property. This is the basis of the prosecution now pending in Raleigh. The problem here is that courts may hold that while, for purposes of private property law, the shopping center is private, for purposes of constitutional law and the exercise of free speech, it is public.

The Supreme Court has struck down a trespass prosecution of Jehovah's Witnesses for preaching their gospel in a private company town in Alabama, and the New York Court of Appeals implied that while Jehovah's Witnesses were trespassers in the corridors of a housing development which they entered without invitation, the situation would have been different if they confined themselves to the streets within the development, some of them private, some public. Finally, we certainly can't stop picketing outside the borders of a shopping area.

Other legal approaches can also be mentioned. In Charlotte, Negro students have been arrested for blocking the aisles of a store in viola-

tion of fire-department regulations. There also have been arrests for assault—where no real assault was involved. Sympathetic police-court judges might go along with such a roundabout approach. But, where the full facts show that the prosecution actually is to enforce segregation, we may expect the courts to cut through form and go to the substance.

I am reminded of prosecutions for "disorderly conduct" of Negroes who violated train and bus segregation laws, when the only disorder was the breach of segregation patterns. Federal Courts of Appeal with jurisdiction over Virginia and Kentucky struck the prosecutions down. This approach, therefore, is no more valuable than the use of trespass.

In view of the limited legal weapons to treat with our difficulties, I would like to discuss some non-legal factors. A very large portion of our trade is colored. Negro urban population, North and South, is growing at a great rate and because Negroes are, as a class, in the economically poorer strata, many of them are attracted by our low prices. We should try to avoid alienating their trade.

I am concerned particularly by the fact that so many of the protestors are college students. These will be the leaders of the Negro community for the next generation. Should we earn their enmity we will, in effect, be graduating from the colleges class after class of leaders who will create and foster all over the South, and in the North as well, a dislike of our organization.

The interest of Negroes in the recent protests is so great that a trial of 43 Negro students in Raleigh, scheduled two weeks ago, could not go on because the courtroom, hallway, stairway and street were so crowded that the fire chief required that the trial be called off. The trial will soon be held in the Raleigh City Auditorium, which seats 3,000.

And, I should emphasize, by no means is interest in this movement limited to Negroes. There were white students, apparently sympathetic to the Negroes, in the Raleigh audience. Some whites, as I have said, have joined in the sit-ins. A recent letter in the Raleigh *News and Observer* states:

"It is too bad that Negroes are denied the right to eat where they want to eat. It is a big inconvenience to be hungry and not to be able to get something to eat in a nearby restaurant. . . . I am a white man and I do not believe in a race mixing, but I am against denying people their human rights. These Negroes are close akin to the original people of this State and wear the names of those people. They should be ashamed to mistreat their own flesh and blood."

And a letter in the Charlotte *News* says:

"The lunch counter affair involves the very kind of colored people our community most needs. Here is a young student leader, a credit to his parents, to his university, and to his community (our community), one who has struck a telling blow for our country and our Christian beliefs in the face of Communist distortion. Here are the others, the cream of our colored young people, protesting in a dignified manner a wrong where the only law they can appeal to is the moral law. . . . Let's make this

a local gesture of good will, before sinister outside forces from both extremes rob it of its bloom. Without reference to what other localities are doing, let Charlotte merchants be the first to express our faith in and support of our colored citizens."

In fact, the sympathy of white persons could substantially injure our business in the South as well as in the North. And, as a counterpoint to the help we might expect from friendly judges and legislators in Southern areas, should we end up in court proceedings or before legislatures in northern areas, it would be reasonable to anticipate unfriendly treatment.

I recall that the Ford Motor Company, during the life of the late Henry Ford, because of anti-Semitic attitudes attributed to him, developed a reputation most harmful to its business interests. This, of course, has been dispelled because of the Ford family's subsequent clearly unprejudiced attitudes and its massive contributions to such causes as the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But, I think, if they had it to do all over again, they would prefer that the need to overcome a tarnished corporate image had never arisen. It would be terrible if our present situation continued uncorrected and we ended up in a situation for which such drastic public relations correctives became necessary.

I think it is clear that our problems cannot be solved by any formula that would reconcile Negroes and sympathetic whites to segregation. The entire attitude of Negroes is strongly in the other direction. In fact, the sit-ins are merely other manifestations of militancy—some of which take extreme form. For example, there is the Muslim group which expresses a form of black nationalism coupled with open hatred of white persons as a class. Despite condemnation by NAACP officials, the Muslims continue to attract much attention and some support.

There was also the Robert Williams episode of last summer. You may recall that he advocated that Negroes use violence to assert their rights. The NAACP suspended him as a branch president. While most Negroes agreed that the suspension was right and necessary, many sympathized with Williams' reaction to the frustration Southern Negroes often feel. And, too, King's successful boycott to achieve bus desegregation in Montgomery, Alabama, shows how much support can be mustered in the Negro community.

The only way to cope with the problem is to take positive and immediate steps to end segregation at lunch counters — or, indeed, anywhere else there is sufficient public demand. I think economic necessity dictates we go at least that far. Actually, this should present no real problem. I understand that while Negroes were being prosecuted for congregating outside our store in Raleigh, Kress' manager invited Negro pickets in for coffee and served them at counters where all patrons stand up. Non-segregated service at Kress has been going on for more than a week and no trouble has resulted. Similar experiences in Baltimore and Washington indicate that the transition can work smoothly.

What probably will happen, should segregation be ended, is that actually a small number of Negroes will take immediate advantage of the opportunity. Force of habit will govern for a while. This is what has happened with bus desegregation. A few colored persons sit in the front while most continue to sit in the back. But the number that takes advantage of desegregation slowly grows. Therefore, in a sense, immediate desegregation will be followed by gradualism in its implementation.

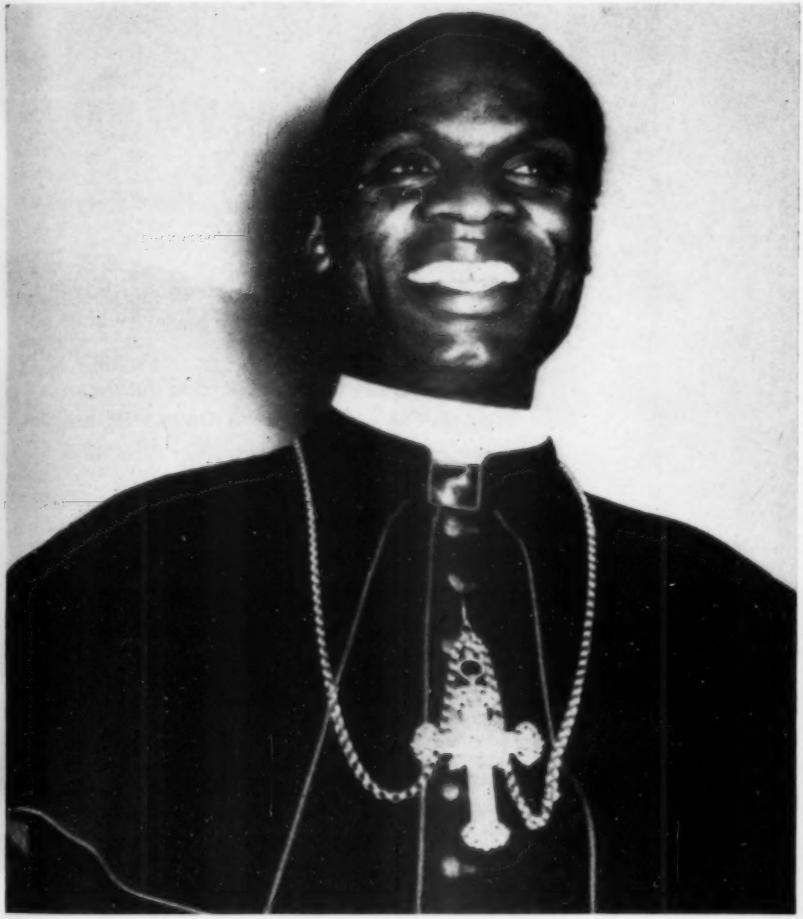
Of course, school desegregation shows that no one can account for what a lunatic fringe will do. There might be some sporadic violence, perhaps worse. But, as in some places where there has been school desegregation, this will pass and be over with. Any effort to maintain segregation, on the other hand, will continue our difficulties indefinitely.

LED *by 82-year-old president Arthur B. Spingarn and executive secretary Roy Wilkins, the NAACP national office staff picketed the S. H. Kress and the F. W. Woolworth variety stores in Fifth Avenue at 39th Street on March 30. Fifty staff members braved drizzle and rain to dramatize the Association's newly-expanded racial self-defense policy to New Yorkers. This picket line is in front of the S. H. Kress store.*

Olympic Press

Cecil Lane

NATIONAL OFFICE PICKETS *in front of the F. W. Woolworth store at Fifth Avenue and 39th Street on March 30. NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, with placard, marches at right. At left is* Crisis *editor James W. Ivy.*



UPI Photo

NAMED TO CARDINALATE—*Pope John XXIII named seven new Roman Catholic cardinals at Vatican City on March 3. Among them is Lourian Rugambwa, Bishop of Rutabo, Tanganyika. He is now Africa's first native-born cardinal and the first Negro to rise to the cardinalate.*

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YES, 6,944 great Americans have enrolled as LIFE MEMBERS of NAACP, "testifying forever to faith in the cause and future of the Negro in the United States, and in the Foundation Principles of the American Republic."

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Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Editorial

"RISING TIDE OF COLOR"

FORTY years ago, Theodore Lothrop Stoddard wrote a book which he titled *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy*. What Attorney Stoddard envisaged was not just the approaching end of white world-domination. He also visualized an incipient revolution in which the "inferior-primitive races" would make war on civilization. "Civilization," to Attorney Stoddard, meant "white" civilization, and that was because, he always insisted, the whites were secure in a splendid pedigree and through historical times have lead innately.

Although there is a "rising tide of color against white supremacy," the colored people are not fighting to destroy civilization. Nor does their revolt follow the crude racist patterns which Attorney Stoddard predicted. We do not think anyone can deny the fact that the present global turbulence is a precursor of the worldwide collapse of white supremacy, but this struggle is only incidentally a revolt of colored peoples. It is a revolt of the unfree peoples of the world, who are predominantly colored, against exploitation and degradation. It is basically a problem in human relations. They are tired of being vassals of empire, helots, hirelings, and often pariahs in their own countries.

PROBLEMS of race prejudice and discrimination are worldwide. And so is the rebellion against these twin evils. The revolt started in Asia. Today it is Africa and the southern states of the USA. A revolution is now in progress in the world. It is exemplified in the USA by the current "sit-ins" against lunchcounter discrimination in the South. It is exemplified by the mass protests of Africans in the Union of South Africa and the war in Algeria.

Although the United States Supreme Court conclued on May 17, 1954, that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," there has been no desegregation of public schools in the Deep South. Integration programs even in most of the border states have been half-hearted and shamefaced. There is widespread disfranchisement, economic reprisals against Negro leaders, and widespread intimidation. It is to these circumstances that we must look for the background of the present wave of "sit-ins" in the South and the sympathy and support which they have aroused throughout the country. For young Negro college students have despaired of finding a solution to the problems of segregation solely through government channels. Negroes are American citizens and they want to be accepted as American

citizens with the same rights and responsibilities as any other American citizen. And they are determined to fight for these rights despite ridicule and lies.

WHEN we turn to Africa, we discover the same popular impatience with "white supremacy," colonialism, exploitation, discrimination, ignorance, and human degradation. We all remember the Mau Mau in Kenya, the riots in Leopoldville, Natal, Cator Manor, and in Nyasaland; and The All African People's Conference in Accra dedicated to African "Independence and Unity." There are even stirrings of discontent in Oliveria de Salazar's African empire—Angola and Mozambique, the two principal Portuguese African possessions. Portugal has been a lucky European colonial power. She is the most ruthless exploiter of Africans among the European colonial powers: her motto is to Make the African work. Yet there has been no worldwide publicity given to the Portuguese system of enslavement which exists in these "squalid zones of silence." This is primarily because of the vaunted Portuguese policy of assimilation, which one Africanist dubs "little more than a set of ridiculous statistics."

The Belgians likewise defied the spirit of the times, for a while. Their aim was to make the Congo a model administration, from above—"enlightened paternalism" one would call it. No native self-government, and no assimilation *à la française* either. The emphasis was on "jobs instead of votes" for Africans. But the structure collapsed with startling speed. Congolese nationalists soon found two leaders in Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumbu. And the Belgians, who exhibited remarkable flexibility, were forced to agree to self-government.

The world, since the slaughters at Sharpeville and Cape Town, is aware of the calculated brutality of *apartheid*, a policy which assigns to each color the kind and quality of servitude most convenient to the Afrikaners. The tragic drama in South Africa is still unfolding and will probably get worse before it gets better.

WHAT is the meaning of these events in the present world context? The world has become small; what happens in one corner affects the welfare and the destiny of people everywhere. A riot in the Congo, an election in Nigeria, and a "sit-in" in North Carolina affect the future of mankind. American Negroes take courage and hope from an independent Ghana and Guinea; revolts in the Congo stiffen the resolve of Africans in South Africa. Everywhere the colored peoples are resolved that the arrogance and the domination of the whites must go. The tale is the same wherever you turn. What the colored world wants and what white men of good-will want is real betterment, a world in which all men can walk with human dignity and freedom.

Looking and Listening . . .

"DREADFUL TRAGEDY"

ONE of the most horrible of the slaughters that have taken place in the Union of South Africa is the one which occurred at Sharpeville, Monday, March 21. Randolph Churchill writes about it in the *News of the World* (March 27, 1960):

What happened at Sharpeville last Monday is not a matter of what happened to someone's corns. There has been a large-scale massacre which has attracted world-wide attention.

Dr. Verwoerd champions the policy of apartheid—that is to say, of 3,000,000 white folk living wholly apart from 11,000,000 black and part-colored fellow citizens.

There is a lot to be said in favor of this policy: but little can be said in favor of the methods by which it is maintained and prosecuted.

If you are going to run a Police State you would surely be well advised to have an efficient police force.

It must be recorded that Dr. Verwoerd has not got such a force at his disposal. Ten London Bobbies could easily have dispersed the 10,000 or 20,000 Africans who demonstrated at Sharpeville.

But the people in charge were mostly silly windy little degenerated Dutch boys, about 20 years old, who had not been properly trained in crowd dispersal.

Scientific crowd dispersal involves the use of tear-gas, shooting over the heads of the crowd, then if necessary at their feet, and above all not shooting anyone in the back. . . .

Says *The Sunday Times* (March 27, 1960), editorially:

The wave of nausea and disgust that flooded this country with the news of the slaying and wounding of riotous Africans at Langa and Sharpeville has conspicuously not been directed against the South African police who fired the shots but against the South African Government whose polices made this tragedy seem pre-ordained. And this is a right judgment. The judicial inquiries which Dr. Verwoerd promptly set on foot will establish the facts and assign the blame for those particular deeds; but the facts about his policies have been clear for all to see, and the watching world is entitled to enter judgment on their consequences.

We believe that apartheid is wrong in principle; but it was not the principle of it that caused the slaughter last week. The cause was its application, in two respects. The first was the enforcement of the notorious Pass Laws. The reasons for these laws are well known, but they are fundamentally an affront to humanity, for they treat men who have the misfortune to be born black, not as individual personalities with rights and dignity, but as mere human units. It is one thing to deny a group the vote, quite another to deprive it of basic freedoms. That the enforcement of the Pass Laws would sooner or later lead to an explosion has been obvious to observers of the African scene. It has now happened.

The other grave error in the application of apartheid was of a different order. It is a rule of experience that if you will not talk with moderates you will have to fight extremists. The na-

UPI Photo

POLICEMEN *walk among the bodies of slain Africans on March 21 at Sharpeville, South Africa.*

tionalists, in refusing all truck with the moderate and non-violent African National Congress, were playing directly into the hands of wilder leaders and groups, like the Pan-Africanists who fomented these latest troubles. Again, this is not being wise after the event: the Union Government had ample warning, but they preferred not to listen. Now they are making a further immense error in proscribing the African National Congress. This can only unite African sentiment, African leadership and African organisation. It has sometimes seemed, as it does now from such instances of folly, as if white South Africa were bent on suiciede. . . .

The Observer (March 27, 1960) notes that:

BODIES *of dead and wounded lie in street at Vereeniging, South Africa, after police opened fire on a crowd of Africans protesting the pass laws.*

UPI Photo

The anger felt in this country at the shootings in South Africa is deep, compassionate and justified. Britain would have seemed diminished in stature if—to take but three examples—Mr. Gaitskell had not protested in the House of Commons, if students had not demonstrated in Trafalgar Square, if Father Huddleston had not called for a National Day of Repentance and Prayer. To suggest, as *The Times* did, that such protests are overlaid by 'smugness, thick as the fat on a turtle,' is grossly to misunderstand the mood of the nation. The British people are driven to protest not because they are irresponsible but because they feel, however remotely, responsible for Vereeniging and Langa.

It is important that this anger should be used constructively and with restraint. For individuals this is comparatively easy. They can support the boycott of South African goods, which now, more than ever, seems justified as a demonstration of sympathy with the African people. They can contribute to the Defence and Aid Fund organised by Christian Action. What they should not do is to allow their anger to harden into hatred of white South Africans, or into short-sighted demands for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. Simply to wash our hands of the nine million black Africans who are also British citizens might indeed deserve the charge of smugness levelled by *The Times*.

"PASS OF SLAVERY"

MARY BENSON writes in *The Observer* (March 27, 1960) about the "Pass of Slavery":

A respectable-looking African woman was waiting at the entrance to the Native Commissioner's office. 'Why are you here?' we asked. 'Ek soek my man' ['I am looking for my husband'], she replied.

CHIEF LUTHULI
Calls upon you to:
• MOURN THE VICTIMS OF POLICE VIOLENCE.
• PROTEST AGAINST POLICE KILLINGS.
• PROTEST AT THE PASS LAWS.
STAY AT HOME
FOR ONE DAY
MONDAY 28th MARCH 1960
Issued by: Chief A. J. Luthuli — Groutville — Natal.

A leaflet issued by ex-Chief Luthuli, leader of the African National Congress, calling on all Africans to stay at home on March 28 in mourning and in protest against the Sharpeville and Cape Town killings.

With encouragement, she explained. A few nights ago her husband had not come home. She knew the routine she must follow—most African wives and mothers in the towns of South Africa know it—and the following morning she had gone to the area police station. They could tell her nothing. The next step was to go the round of the Native Commissioners' offices; her dread that her husband had been imprisoned under the pass laws only less than her hope that at least he had not met with a serious accident.

So she waited to make her inquiry. She held a crumpled pound note in case she should trace him and be able to pay a fine. She was but one of the tens of thousands of African women in South Africa and South West Africa who suffer this dread, go through this routine. . . .

An African woman at Johannesburg, South Africa, holds up her charred pass book during "Day of Mourning" for victims of the Sharpeville shootings.

Wide World

In all the towns and cities of the Union, all day and every weekday, these courts [criminal] sit, year in and year out. One and a quarter million Africans are tried each year for trivial offences, including 500,000 for pass offences alone (of whom 337,604 were convicted in 1955). What are these laws that subject 500,000 innocent Africans a year to this painful humiliation and uncertainty, to being locked up with hardened criminals and young *tsotsis* (hooligans)?

Every African male over the age of sixteen, whether he be a professor or peasant, has to carry a reference book. This combines up to a dozen passes, including a certificate from an employer that has to be signed by him every month, a residential permit, a tax receipt, a curfew pass. The recommendation of a magistrate entitles certain people to exemption from some of the passes.

The most common offence is failure to have the permit under Section Ten of the Urban Areas Act, which controls the influx of Africans into the towns. Under this, the only Africans with a *right* to live in an urban area for more than seventy-two hours are those who have since birth lived continuously in the area; who have worked there continuously for one employer for ten years, or have lawfully resided there continuously for fifteen years. The same concession covers their wives, unmarried daughters or sons under the age of eighteen. Other Africans must have a special permit for seventy-two hours while seeking work in the area and, once they have found it, they are normally given another permit to remain. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the police force is permanently engaged in enforcing these laws.

Throughtout South Africa's history, the pass laws have caused more bitter resentment than any other grievance. Why? Because failure to produce a reference book on demand is a criminal offence. And it is an offence if any one of the relevant passes is not in order. Every day countless Africans, who in a normal country would be described as "law-abiding," are stopped by police who demand their books. Even if the book is only a few yards away, in a man's jacket at his "place of work," the police seldom wait for proof before bundling him into a pick-up van which takes him to the nearest charge office. He *could* get legal defence—*if* he knew about legal processes and could afford a lawyer.

PRIME Minister Nehru of India described the racial policies of

Wide World

MEMBERS *of the African National Congress give the "Thumbs Up" sign as they take part in the "Day of Mourning on March 28 at Orlando East, near Johannesburg.*

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the South African government as the negation of everything for which the United Nations and every civilized government stands. The Indian Lower House observed a minute's silence in sympathy for the victims of the Sharpeville shootings.

Moving a Resolution on the "tragic incidents," Mr. Nehru said that these policies, which had evoked strong reaction from all parts of the world, would lead to disaster. The motion was supported by all parties and was passed unanimously after a brief discussion.

It read: "This House deplores and records its deep sense of sorrow at the tragic incidents which occurred at Langa township and Sharpeville, near Cape Town, on March 21 resulting in the death of a large number of Africans from police firing. It sends its deep sympathy to Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and suppression of African people in their own homeland."

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ON THE "SIT-IN" STRIKES

F. W. Woolworth, S. S. Kresge, S. H. Kress, and W. T. Grant stores publicly announced on March 15, 1960, that they would continue their policy of refusing to serve Negro customers at lunch counters in their stores in the southern states.

On March 15, the police forces of southern states arrested more than 500 Negro students who were protesting the lunch-counter policies of the chain stores.

Orangeburg, S. C., police used tear gas and fire hose on Negro students as the young people were walking peacefully along the streets *before* they had reached the retail business district.

Students numbering 350 were arrested in Orangeburg and held in a stockade. Others were arrested in Rock Hill and Columbia, S. C.

In Atlanta, Ga., 77 students protesting the lunch counter policies of the chain variety stores were arrested by police.

Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, Jr., of South Carolina, has stated that these protests against lunch counter policies will be crushed even though technically no law is being violated. Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia has echoed the policy of Gov. Hollings.

Gov. John Patterson of Alabama is the original "get tough" southern governor. Protesting Negro students have been expelled from Alabama State College in Montgomery, the capital, and the chief of police has urged the governor to close down the college.

It is apparent that the full power of southern state governments, including special laws rushed through the legislatures, as well as state, local and county police forces, is being used to support chain variety stores in their anti-Negro lunch counter policies, and that at the very height of this persecution the federal government, through the Congress of the United States, is steadfastly refusing to legislate adequate relief.

Thus, in their campaign for equality and human dignity, Negro Americans are forced to fall back upon their own resources, spiritual, economic and political.

Therefore, under the provocations of March 15, cited above, and in accordance with the clearly expressed consensus of the NAACP Board of Directors at its meeting March 14 to support fully the protest demonstrations aimed at the humiliating policy of chain variety stores and to resist

persecution connected therewith, all organized units of the NAACP are advised that a racial self-defense policy on an expanded scale is in effect as of the date of this issue of *The Crisis*.

NAACP OFFICERS PICKET VARIETY STORES

LED by 82-year-old president Arthur B. Spingarn and executive secretary Roy Wilkins, the national office staff of the Association picketed the S. H. Kress and the F. W. Woolworth variety stores in Fifth Avenue at 39th Street on March 30.

Fifty staff members braved drizzle and rain to dramatize the NAACP's newly expanded racial self-defense policy to New Yorkers.

This policy of "withholding patronage from all units of chain and variety stores in all sections of the country" which refuse lunch counter service to southern Negroes was announced by Mr. Wilkins on March 16.

Handbills distributed on the two picket lines cited the dual role of the marchers as NAACP staff members and American citizens "who believe in equal justice for all and who seek to preserve the good name of America as leader of the Free World."

National office staff members listed the following reasons for their action: "To demonstrate our full support of the southern Negro student protest against jim crowism in the South; and

"To focus public attention on the discriminatory policy of the chain in which this store is a link. And to rally support of all elements of the community in behalf of the gallant stand of southern youth for freedom."

Placards proclaimed the Association's support of the student demonstrations, branded segregation as immoral, and asked "why spend our money with chains whose southern stores refuse to serve Negroes at lunch counters?"

* * *

Responding to a memorandum from executive secretary Roy Wilkins calling for nationwide action in support of the southern students' "sit-in

DR. WILLIAM WATTS *presents an NAACP life membership plaque, in memory of the late Dr. George B. Murphy to the widow Mrs. Grace Murphy, who took out the membership. Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore, Md., branch looks on.* BOTTOM: *Proud owners of an NAACP life membership are these representatives of Castle Williams Lodge, No. 11, Free and Accepted Masons, Boston, Massachusetts. Pictured accepting the membership plaque on behalf of the lodge, from L, are Cleo W. Wooten, treasurer; Godfrey W. Hall, present master; John Fernandez, past master, and Kivie Kaplan, national life membership co-chairman of the NAACP.*

demonstrations" at lunch counters in the South, scores of local units of the Association have initiated picketing of Woolworth, Kress, Kresge and Grant variety stores in their respective communities.

NAACP-sponsored picket lines have been formed in front of these stores in cities across the nation from Boston to San Francisco. Already some branches are making plans for a sustained campaign of picketing. San Francisco and New Haven have plans for continuing their demonstrations.

In Baltimore, ministers, inspired by the church committee of the Baltimore NAACP branch, picketed the variety stores on April 9, the Saturday before Palm Sunday. This demonstration, according to Dr. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the branch "helped launch full-scale community support for the NAACP-sponsored racial self-defense program to withhold retail trade from stores that discriminate on a local basis and through their southern outlets."

Among cities, not previously announced, in which the NAACP has instituted picketing are Kansas City, Witchita, Topeka, Hutchinson, Ft. Scott, Wellington and Salina, Kans.; Washington, Omaha, Nebr.; Akron, Youngstown, Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.; Chicago; Seattle, Wash.; Portland, Oreg.; St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo.

SOME *200-odd girls of Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., staged a protest march against the local Woolworth store on March 22 in support of desegregated lunch counters in the South. The girls marched past the store once and then left, leaving two picketers behind. A Saratoga city ordinance prohibits the gathering of more than two people for such purposes.*

UPI Photo

NORTHERN COLLEGES SUPPORT "SIT-INS"

IN a variety of swiftly organized and inventive ways, great numbers of northern college students have indicated overwhelming support of the South's Negro student demonstrators.

Meanwhile, a number of NAACP college-chapter leaders in the South, who have spearheaded the drive against segregated facilities, took leave from front-line activities to speak in distant cities on behalf of their cause.

They addressed NAACP-sponsored rallies in Washington, New York, Columbus, Detroit, San Francisco, and Hartford, Conn., as fellow students in many of the North's foremost institutions marched, prayed, staged sympathy "sit-ins," picketed and collected student defense funds.

At Oberlin College in Ohio students collected over $2,000 for defense of the Nashville students. On far-north campuses such as Wheaton College at Norton, Mass., students trooped through nearby towns collecting student aid funds.

In Saratoga Springs, N. Y., about 20 Skidmore College faculty members joined 200 college girls in a demonstration against lunch counter discrimination in the South.

Even medical students set aside their books and took up protest placards.

At New Haven, 35 Yale medical students, operating in four shifts, picketed three midtown chain stores. Meantime, Yale divinity students and faculty announced a "silent march" around the city's main square.

NAACP youth secretary Herbert Wright, who has coordinated many of the student activities in the South, said: "The increased activity by college students has brought new NAACP memberships and requests for formation of new college chapters in such schools as Vassar, Bennington, and Brandeis University."

While Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., has no formal chapter, its student body led by a Negro undergraduate, Miss Marion Gray, staged widely publicized demonstrations at variety stores in that city. As if synchronized to act at the same time, college girls at Bennington and Smith Colleges launched similar protests.

In New York, 300 NAACP student leaders from New York University, Columbia University and the City College of New York paraded in front of a midtown Woolworth's store.

"Northern students must get involved," said Peter Steinberg, editor of the *City College Observation Post*, "They are neglecting their duty as students and citizens if they don't."

Meanwhile, in Washington, NAACP college chapters at Howard, Catholic and American universities held a mass civil-rights rally in the capitol city's Lafayette Square on Saturday, March 26.

Student protest groups have been addressed by NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill and NAACP program director James Farmer. Mr. Hill addressed students at Vassar College and met with students at the University

UPI Photo

FELTON TURNER, *Houston, Texas, removes a bandage to show the "KKK" initials carved twice in his abdomen. Turner told authorities that four armed, masked white men abducted him, took him to a wooded area, and then left him hanging upside down from a tree after beating him and carving the Ku Klux Klan initials on him.*

of Connecticut on March 31. Mr. Farmer addressed a rally in San Francisco on April 1 when that city's NAACP branch also heard young Thomas Gaither, NAACP college chapter president at Claflin College in Orangeburg, S. C.

On Sunday, March 21, Lloyd Williams, head of the NAACP South Carolina state youth conference and coordinator of student "sit-in demonstrations," addressed 500 delegates at the New York State Christian Conference representing 37 New York colleges.

WITHHOLDING POLICY CATCHING ON

THERE was considerable evidence in March that consumers in many cities are beginning to withhold patronage from chain-variety stores with units in the South that discriminate against Negro customers at lunch-counters.

The "withholding policy" was announced by NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins in a directive to all NAACP branches on March 16.

Up to this point NAACP units were only asked to support student demonstrators by sending wires to the store heads, picketing, and handing out literature.

"Almost every branch without exception has conducted meetings, launched picketing campaigns, and sent wires," Gloster B. Current, director of branches, said today.

The NAACP New England Regional Conference made Saturday, March 26, "New England NAACP Picket Day."

Mrs. Mary Johnson Lowe, president of the Bronx branch NAACP, reported the successful picketing of a Woolworth store in the Bronx community:

"During the four-and-one-half hours of picketing, the store was practically empty and we are pleased to report that we were greatly encouraged by the people on the street who displayed complete sympathy with our efforts and appreciated the public pronouncement of the fight of the Negro for equality in the North as well as the South."

Similar responses have come from such diverse cities, with NAACP branches, as Denver, Colo.; Danbury, Conn.; Knoxville, Tenn.; and Dowagiac, Mich.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, the membership took their message to the air waves, announced formation of picket lines and urged listeners to write to the stores' home offices. Picketers gave out 2,500 leaflets in one day.

"I don't know when there has been such enthusiasm on the part of the branches for a specific cause," Mr. Current added.

The decision to urge withholding of patronage was made after F. W. Woolworth, S. S. Kresge, S. H. Kress, and W. T. Grant publicly announced on March 15 their intention to continue their policy of refusing to serve Negroes except on a segregated basis.

Mr. Current observed that it was "still too early to fully evaluate the effectiveness of the withholding patronage phase."

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Dr. A. R. Taylor was installed on January 24 as president of the PASADENA branch; taking office with him were Mrs. Lillian Mims, first vice-president; J. T. Alexander, second vice-president; Linn Hattersley, third vice-president; Mrs. Rose Reed, secretary; Shirley Jones, assistant secretary; and Dr. Robin I. Bennett, treasurer.

Members of the executive committee are Theodore Bartlett, Mrs. Lillian Brown, Mrs. Peannie Butler, Mrs. Margaret Fleming, Rev. Mr. George Garner I, Mrs. Carolina Kidd, Leroy Mims, Fred Valentine, Mrs. Theresa House, Alvin Johnson, Dr. Harold Mavritte, Dr. Robert Nesbitt, Samuel Sheats, George Simmons, Edward Singer, Harold Sternis, Mrs. Valerie Taylor, Mrs. Ruth Valentine, John Wright, Louis Almore, and Mrs. Margaret Lowe.

The new officers were installed by Father Alfred E. Norman, pastor of the St. Barnabas Episcopal Church.

Connecticut: The NEW LONDON branch voted to appeal to the national offices of the variety stores in the current "sit-ins" to end segregated lunch counters in their southern outlets.

The principal arguments against local demonstrations in support of the southern "sit-ins" was the fact that there is no discrimination at the lunch counters of New London branches of the chains and the local stores' policies of hiring qualified Negroes, a chapter spokesman said.

Illinois: Members of the youth council of the CHICAGO branch conducted picket lines at the Woolworth Stores in Lake Meadows on March 26 in support of southern-student protest against racial discrimination at lunch-counter in the South.

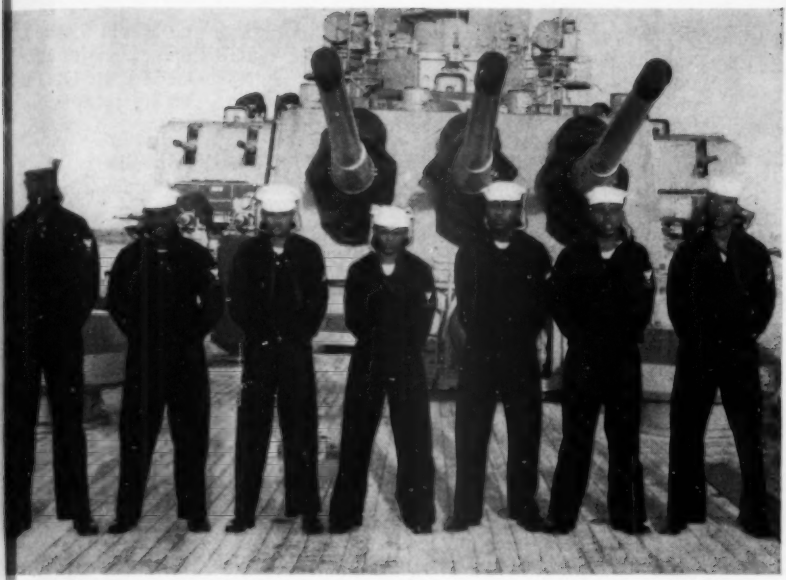
The Chicago branch has called on Benjamin Willis, superintendent of Chicago schools to report any action he has taken on charges of racial inequities in Chicago schools. The branch raised the following issues:

An examination be made of qualitative differences in training being provided children in all-Negro schools and those in integrated or all white schools.

That efforts be taken to equalize classroom loads and length of school days in all Chicago schools.

That plans be worked out for transporting children by bus from overcrowded areas to schools where there is vacant space.

The letter was dated March 15 and bore the names of Theodore A. Jones, chairman of the education committee, and Reverend Carl A. Fuqua



U.S. Navy

SEVEN *members of the crew of the S.S. Comcrudiv and the USS Bremerton (CA 130) were tops in the NAACP holiday-seal campaign. They contributed $103 to the NAACP. Pictured here are Ard, Ridley, Kirksey, Ralph, Carr, O'Neal, and Adams. Other contributors not pictured are Williams, Robertson, Jenkins, Gayle, Sulcer, Moore, Cain, Bradley, Haskins, Hicks, Smith, Johnson, Richardson, Elerby, Mitchell, Fleming, Barber, Oliver, Pruitt, Smith, James, Johnson, Martin, Jones, White, Lynch, Acey, Brown, Scott, and Caston.*

executive secretary. It also asked for an opportunity to discuss with Dr. Willis, "complaints that there are evidences of racial discrimination in upgrading and in assignment of Board of Education personnel."

Indiana: The INDIANA state youth conference of the NAACP was held in Gary, October 23-25, 1959, with 219 delegates in attendance representing thirteen youth councils and college chapters.

The KOKOMO branch is engaged in a fight for a state FEPC statute. One speaker at a branch meeting which discussed FEPC legislation characterized Komo employers in the following manner:

The first group includes "God-fearing and law-abiding people" who would obey FEPC legislation because it is the thing to do; the second group would hire Negroes if they weren't afraid of what their friends and customers would say; and the third group are the die-hards who object to equality in employment for Negroes.

Maryland: The following news, which appeared in the March 5, 1960, issue of the *Washington Post & Times Herald,* signaled the successful conclusion of the twenty-month campaign of the MONTGOMERY COUNTY branch in its fight against racial discrimination in the eating facilities of the Woodward and Lothrop Department Store in Chevy Chase, Maryland:

STORE LIFTS NEGRO BAN IN RESTAURANT

Woodward & Lothrop has ended its ban on serving Negroes in the restaurant of the firm's Chevy Chase store.

The ban led the Montgomery County branch of the NAACP to picket Woodies' new Wheaton Plaza store at its opening on February 5. Yesterday the NAACP asked shoppers who had boycotted Woodies' at its request to resume their patronage.

Woodward & Lothrop's, or Woodies' as it is more generally called, operates a chain of four department stores in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., area, including the new Wheaton (Md.) Plaza store referred to in the above news story. Two of the stores contain eating facilities—the downtown Washington store, and the Chevy Chase store. The restaurant of the Washington store serves all patrons without discrimination but the policy of the Chevy Chase store from the beginning was to refuse service to Negroes in the Fountain Room.

Concerted efforts by the branch to get this humiliating policy changed began in June 1958.

Since Woodies' was just one of the several stores in the county with such a policy, although the most prominent, the first effort attempted a general solution by trying to get the Montgomery County government to pass an ordinance prohibiting eating or drinking places, hotels, hospitals, etc., from discriminating because of race, creed or national origin. Letters were written to each member of the County Council, which included a suggested draft of such an ordinance. However, the Council failed to act on this proposal even though the branch had a large measure of public support.

Then, early in 1959, construction started on the new Wheaton Plaza store which was to be the "showpiece" of the huge Wheaton Plaza Shopping Center in Wheaton, Md. The "Grand Opening" was announced for February 5, 1960. The branch finally learned that the new store was not to have eating facilities; therefore our initial fears that Woodies' discriminatoin policy would be extended into a new area of the County were allayed. However, the widely publicized opening of the new store, with the attndant ceremonies and fanfare, offered an excellent opportunity to call the attention of the public to Woodies' discriminatory policy in its Chevy Chase store.

Therefore, the branch enlisted the support of local church groups and other organizations to picket the opening ceremonies. Before carrying out this plan, however, we wrote still another letter to Mr. Parker restating our position on his discrimination policy and asking that it be changed. We stated further that if the policy was not changed we would consider it our obligation to ask the public to express its disapproval in "concrete ways."

In a few days we received Mr. Parker's characteristically curt reply that there was little likelihood that the policy would be changed.

Our pickets were present *en masse* at the opening ceremonies and, after the speechmaking by Mr. Parker and other assembled dignitaries, we circulated through the crowd passing out printed leaflets. The leaflets pointed out the injustice of the discrimination policy and asked people to express their disapproval of this policy by doing one of the following two things:

To cancel their charge accounts at Woodies';

To make a no-buying pledge if they didn't have an account.

The leaflets incorporated printed forms to be signed to implement either of these two actions. People were asked to mail the signed forms to the branch so that we could collate them and send them through to Woodies' in groups.

Hundreds of these forms were also distributed to members of churches and other organizations in the County through a "key man" in each organization who was responsible for their distribution and the collection of the signed forms.

The response to these efforts was highly gratifying and we were soon sending large groups of cancellations and no-buying pledges to Mr. Parker, with covering letters asking him to take the appropriate action.

It wasn't long before Mr. Parker wrote us a letter saying that Negroes would now be served in the Fountain Room of the Chevy Chase store and asking that we notify those who had canceled their accounts or signed no-buying pledges. In fact, the dateline of the Washington Post news story about Woodies' changed policy was exactly one month after the opening of the Wheaton store.

Massachusetts: A revitalization of the Roxbury Rehabilitation Project and increased enforcement of fair-housing codes were among the topics discussed recently at a special conference held by Mayor John E. Collins with members of the BOSTON branch.

The Boston branch is stepping up its campaign to get branch members to register and to vote.

Michigan: New officers of Local 339, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, contributed $1,003.25 to executive secretary Arthur L. Johnson of the DETROIT branch as a memorial tribute to Harry Newmark, the late president of Local 339.

Nevada: The RENO-SPARKS branch held its "membership kick-off campaign meeting" on March 20, with Charles James as the guset speaker.

New Jersey: The JERSEY CITY branch presented a play, "This Is Our Day," on April 23 at Public School 14. The play had a cast of more than fifty people in addition to a choir and a dancing group.

New York: The CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch welcomes its

newest life member, The National Association of Negro Business & Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., of which Mrs. Florence Allen Holmes is national president.

The JAMAICA branch held a mass rally on March 27 in protest against lunch-counter discrimination in variety stores in the South.

Rev. John Wells installed new officers of the SPRING VALLEY branch on January 20, as follows: William Scott, president; Allan Mullgrave, vice-president; Lucille Stewart, secretary; and Joseph Thaxton, treasurer.

The branch was likewise an active participant in a recent project for good-neighbor housing.

Pennsylvania: New officers and executive-committee members of the PHILADELPHIA branch were installed by Judge Theodore O. Spaulding on March 19, as follows: A Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Esq., president; George B. Morris, vice-president; Reba O. Bowie, 2nd vice-president; Mary Williams, secretary; Constance Clayton, assistant secretary; Clarence Dockens, treasurer.

Executive committee members are John Archer, James K. Baker, Esq., Harriet Barbour, Gertrude Barnes, Lucille Blondin, Rev. Madison A. Bowe, Dr. Frank W. Burge, Dorothy Burton, Rev. Leonard Carr, Ernest Fleming, Walter Gay, Esq., Dr. Wm. H. Gray, Harry Greene, Samuel Hall, Isabel Hoggard, Samuel D. Holmes, Sr., Dr. Eugene W. Jones, Rev. Mahlon Lewis, Fr. Thomas Logan, C. W. Maxwell, Mae McCrary, Charles Mitchell, Rev. Noah W. Moore, Jr., Rosa Pitts, Walter Reeder, E. W. Rhodes, Esq., Dr. Carleton Richards Sarah Scott, Stanley Shotz, Catherine Smith, Rev. Leon Sullivan, Arthur Thomas, Mabel Turner, Esq., Hallye West, and William A. Young, Jr.

Wisconsin: The MILWAUKEE branch moved into its new offices at 815 West North Avenue on March 1. The new office is less expensive and it is more conveniently located.

NAACP fund raisers of the life membership committee are, from L, Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College; Mrs. Marion Beaven; and Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman NAACP life membership committee.

ME, TOO?

TO THE LOCAL CITY COUNCIL

I see that you have posted an examination announcement for those wishing to become city firemen,

And that all citizens who fall within a certain "Age Bracket' are eligible for appointment, if they pass the examination.

"ME, TOO?"

TO A LOCAL REAL ESTATE DEALER

I note that you are advertising "Fine Homes" for sale, in a new addition,

And that anybody who is able to make a down payment of one thousand dollars can buy one of these attractive dwellings.

"ME, TOO?"

TO A SOUTHERN STATE UNIVERSITY

I noticed in a recent editorial that your Medical School is now ranked as the best, and largest in the entire SOUTHLAND,

And that all applicants who can qualify for admission to it will be accepted.

"ME, TOO?"

TO A PASTOR OF THE FINEST CHURCH IN TOWN

I understand that your beautiful new Church edifice will accommodate additional members,

And that you have extended an invitation from your pulpit, to all members of your Faith, to join your Church.

"ME, TOO?"

J. Mason Brewer

College and School News

BISHOP COLLEGE was host May 3-6 to the thirtieth annual session of the Lacy Kirk Williams Ministers' Institute. This year's theme is "Communicating the Gospel."

Seventy-ninth founders' day was celebrated at Bishop April 4-10 under the direction of J. D. Hurd, '49, and a founders' week committee. Theme of the observance was "New frontiers for Christian higher education: our challenge and responsibility."

Dr. Jerome H. Holland, president of Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware, was founders' day speaker.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE's dietetic internship program has been re-approved for the next two years by the American Dietetic Association. The program has been endorsed by ADA consecutively since its inception in 1954.

Dr. Ira L. Ferguson, professor of public health and education at Tuskegee 1950-58, has been elected the first chairman of the San Francisco Republican Council for Equal Opportunity.

■

HOWARD UNIVERSITY officials announced in March the receipt of a $43,900 grant for a two-year study of solidified permanent gases by the university's department of physics. Dr. Erwin M. Horl, assistant professor of physics, will direct the research program.

Howard was host March 20-26 to a citizenship institute which brought some 150 high-school girls from six states to Washington for a week of meetings and tours. The institute, which was sponsored by Howard and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, was designed to give the students an opportunity to observe federal governmental functions

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DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

and to learn the responsibilities of citizens.

The university was host March 26 to a one-day conference of alumni of the school of social work.

Three Howard students have been selected by the Operations-Crossroads Africa Committee of New York City to participate in West African-study-work groups this summer. They will be among 135 students from colleges throughout the United States who will spend six weeks in West African countries under the sponsorship of the New York City group.

The university students are Sonja Bolling, Washington; Diane Colter, New York City; and James D. Wilson, Jr., Flint, Michigan.

The University Choir, under the direction of Warner Lawson, dean of the school of music, will participate in a State Department-sponsored tour of twenty Central and South American countries this summer. The group, which will include some 60 singers, will begin its tour June 12 and is expected to return in late August.

Howard professor Walter T. Daniels has been presented an Honorary Medallion Award for distinguished postgraduate achievement by the college of engineering of the University of Arizona. Dr. Daniels is professor of structural engineering at Howard.

■

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, pastor of the Moore Street Church, Richmond, Va., was founders' day speaker in March at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE. A part of the anniversary observance was a pilgrimage, headed by VSC president Robert P. Daniel, to visit the grave of Alfred W. Harris, Negro member of the Virginia State Legislature who in 1882 introduced the bill to found Virginia State College.

VSC was host March 24-25 to the seventh annual work conference of Colored Parents and Teachers. Main speaker at the conference was Dr. Edward Brice, specialist in fundamental and literary education of the U. S. Office of Education.

Joyce Taylor, a junior voice major, recently won first prize at the audition held by the National Association of Teachers of Singing at Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia. Miss Taylor, a Richmonder, will represent the State of Virginia in the South Eastern Regional Audition to be held by NATS at Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C., in their annual quest for the "Singer of the Year."

The alumni, faculty, staff, and students of VSC honored president Robert P. Daniel in March on his tenth anniversary as president of the college. Approximately 1,500 guests attended the testimonial.

■

Rev. L. Venchael Booth, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, was principal speaker at the nineteenth religious convocation of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY.

The educational department of VUU is using audio-visual aids in order to better prepare its students for teaching.

■

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MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE has received a grant of $25,660 from the National Science Foundation to conduct a nine-week institute (June 6-August 5) in science and mathematics for high-school students who show promise in these areas.

Dr. Ann Scarlett Cochran, professor of education and director of teacher training at MBC, led the student-faculty financial campaign by raising $4,500 of a total of $13,000 raised in the campaign.

■

Thirty-two students made the honor roll at WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) during the last term. Twenty-five of the thirty-two were young women working towards diplomas in the stenographic course, the junior-accounting course and the business administration course.

■

Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights, Dr. John A. Hannah was major speaker at the national convocation of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, March 25-27, Denver, Colorado.

Neil H. McElroy, Cincinnati, and John H. Johnson, Chicago, have accepted appointments to serve as vice-chairmen of the UNCF's 1960 appeal.

■

A panel of experts in interracial problems discussed the current integration issue on March 23 in COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY's Harkness Theater in the Nicolas Murray Butler Library. Subject of the discussion was "Citizenship and Segregation in

the United States."

More than 100 dancers, musicians, and singers from all parts of the world participated in the university's Fifth Annual World Dance Festival held on March 12 in the McMillan Theater.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE was host March 16-18 to the fifteenth annual Institute on Successful Marriage and Family Living, sponsored by the Morehouse department of sociology.

Lecturer-consultants were Dr. Lawrence S. Bee, of the University of Kansas; Dr. Eleanor Hamilton, director of the Hamilton School for Marriage and Family Life; Mrs. Naomi Thomas Gray, Planned Parenthood Federation of America; and Mrs. Naomi R. Harrison, dean of women, St. Paul's College, Lawrenceville, Virginia. Professor Walter R. Chivers, chairman of the Morehouse department of sociology, is director of the annual institute.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY began on March 14 a course for nature counselors and youth leaders. Summer counselors and group leaders who are expected to know leaf, bird, rock, and reptile can prepare themselves by participating in this course.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY is one of six colleges and universities which have been chosen to conduct a training institute in counseling and guidance under the National Defense Act for the academic year 1960-61.

The nineteenth annual exhibition of paintings, sculptures, and prints by Negro artists opened on May 1 for a month's showing. In last year's exhibition the jury selected, from over 500 entries, 139 works by 82 artists for showing.

Religious-emphasis week at the university was Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor emeritus of the Central Methodist Church of Detroit, Michigan.

■

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George Sheppersob, lecturer in imperial and American history at Edinburgh University, delivered two lectures at BOSTON UNIVERSITY under the auspices of the university's African research and studies program. He discussed "Problems of African History" on March 28; "Problems of Nationalism in East and Central Africa" on March 29.

Rare books and manuscripts on Africa were on display at the university's Chenery Library, during the month of March, in honor of the recent tour of Africa by President and Mrs. Harold C. Case.

■

CENTRAL STATE COOLLEGE trustee Dr. W. P. Young, Youngstown, Ohio, has been honored with the presidency-elect of the Mahoning County Chapter of the American Academy of General Practice and will take office for the 1961 term.

■

Silas Mosley of Newark, New Jersey, is a student-teacher at the INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY in Tokyo, Japan. Mr. Mosley spends ten hours a week teaching conversational English to Japanese freshmen at ICU.

■

NAACP board chairman Dr. Robert C. Weaver (R) confers with other guests attending recent convocation of University College of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica. From L, James Ticburd, Tobago and Dr. P. M. Sherlock.

Book Reviews

AN EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL

***Property Values and Race*: Studies in Seven Cities. By Luigi Laurenti. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. XIX+256pp. $6.00.**

Many sound arguments and theories have been advanced by supporters of democratic freedom in housing. Opponents, on the other hand, have been able to conjure up only a few fears and myths in support of their beliefs, which are rooted in racial prejudice. Among these myths, the one most consistently employed by industry and residents alike is the belief that property values decline when non-whites enter a neighborhood.

The book under review is undoubtedly the most effective rebuttal of the myth of declining property values ever to be published. The book is one of a series of studies prepared for the Commission on Race and Housing, with the financial assistance of The Fund for the Republic. Mr. Laurenti, a former professor of economics at the University of California, based his study on an analysis of approximately 10,000 property transfers in selected areas of San Francisco and Oakland, California, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His findings and conclusions also reflect an evaluation of studies conducted in Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit and Portland, Oregon. This exhaustive study dramatically identifies the true behavior of real estate prices in neighborhoods entered by Negroes as more likely to improve or to remain stable than to decline.

Among the more significant finds revealed in *Property Values and Race* are the following:

The odds are 4 to 1 that property values in a neighborhood, entered by non-whites, will either keep up with, or exceed, values in a comparable non-white area.

An analysis of mortgages and financial data reveals that almost as many non-whites purchased for cash, plus first mortgages, as did whites. The need for second-mortgage financing also appeared to be equally divided among whites and non-whites.

The property value fluctuations in a changing neighborhood are directly related to the factors of supply and demand and panic selling.

Available studies indicate that Negroes and whites of comparable incomes have practically identical records of property maintenance and mortgage payments. Some statistics show Negroes to have a slightly better record.

Mr. Laurenti's report, though rooted in statistics, is excellently prepared and highly readable. It completely demolishes the property-value myth; it constitutes a major contribution to both the field of housing and intergroup

relations. One hopes that it will be read by supporters and opponents alike.

JACK WOOD
NAACP Special Assistant for Housing

INTEGRATION REPORT

***Addendum:* A Five-Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington, D.C., Schools. By Carl F. Hansen. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, 1960. 32pp. 35¢.**

The Washington schools were the first to desegregate completely in response to the 1954 ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court. Five years integration, Dr. Hansen declares, have shown a steady improvement in academic standards, teacher efficiency, and school services at the same time that juvenile delinquency has dropped.

He notes that the past five years have witnessed marked changes in the racial composition of a number of the District's schools, with a preponderance of Negroes enrolled in some schools that once showed a heavy majority of white pupils. He attributes this to social, economic, and political factors that have changed many of the nation's urban communities rather than to the influence of school desegregation. At the same time, he points out, academic standards have risen along with the increase in Negro enrollment, which testifies "to the capacity of the Negro pupil to respond to educational opportunity."

Dr. Hansen lists the following successes for the racially-integrated Washington schools:

Academic standards have gone up. Where comparative data are available, there has been a general upgrading of achievement levels since 1955. "Although school desegregation does not eliminate the deep-seated causes of social, economic, and cultural impoverishment, it does provide the opportunity for an equal sharing of educational resources . . . ," the author explains.

The caliber of teachers has improved. Since 1954 teachers have been assigned and promoted on the basis of merit only.

School services have improved. In 1954-1955, the cost of schooling per pupil was $308.46. In 1957-58, it was $389.62.

Juvenile delinquency has been reduced. As reported in cases per thousand between 1954 and 1958, juvenile delinquency has decreased although data for 1958-1959, not yet available in cases per thousand, shows an increase over the year before. Serious incidents primarily racial in origin have been relatively infrequent under integration.

Racial integration has had no effect on the usual and social activities of the schools. Dr. Hansen emphasizes that integration has neither caused, nor can it cure, certain deep-seated problems of youth, such as indifference to formal education, vandalism, illegitimate pregnancies and venereal disease, which have their roots in social and economic conditions. He also notes that all students, whether Negro or white, find "the same problems when they are members of a limited minority in a secondary school." About that bugaboo of the segregationist, racial intermarriage: "During the first four years of school desegregation only one case of racial intermarriage has been verified. In this instance, the white girl and the Negro boy attended high school together for one year."

Addendum is a supplement to the author's previous study, "Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D. C., Schools," also published by ADL.

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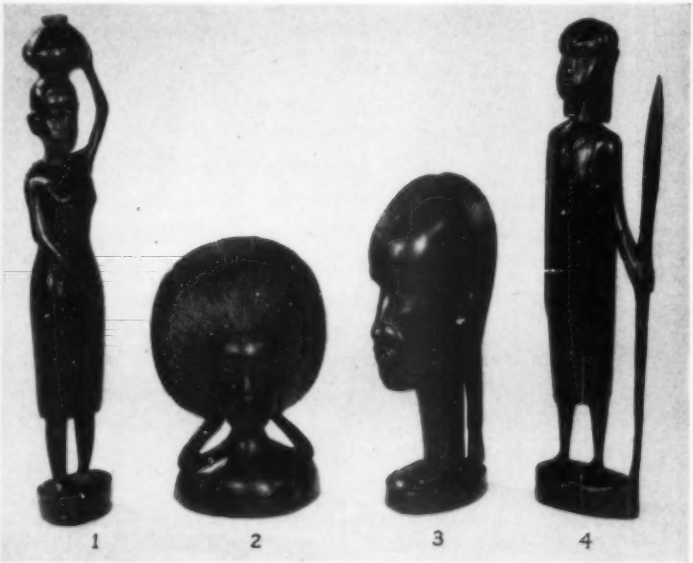

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